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International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (Canada)

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Fonds International de Défense et d'Aide pour l'Afrique Australe (Canada)

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President/Président
The Hon. T.R. Berger

Ottawa - 27 August 1987

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IDAFSA (Canada) is extremely pleased to welcome the President of the African National Congress to Canada. Oliver Reginald Tambo is here to meet with The Rt. Hon Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

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Editor:

Oliver Reginald Tambo, President of the African National Congress, has graciously declined an invitation to the news briefing in the National Press Theatre this afternoon. Mr. Tambo felt it might be considered discourteous to speak in a large media forum before his discussions with The Rt Hon Joe Clark and the Prime Minister.

However there will be valuable information at this afternoon's briefing from a variety of sources:

Peter Mahlangu	Representative in Canada of the South African Congress of Trade Unions -worker's conditions -the miner's strike -labour action as a means of change
Anne Mitchell	Executive Director, IDAFSA International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (Canada) -soon to be released briefing paper on violence against children in -detainees legal expenses -supporting the families of detainees
Yusef Saloogie	Representative in Canada of the ANC -background (only) to Mr. Tambo's visit
Hon Howard McCurdy, M.P.	NDP Critic - Human Rights (External) -the Canadian response

-30-

ANC President Oliver Reginald Tambo - Itinerary

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5:55 pm Arrival, Toronto International Airport - met by Ontario Regional Chief Gordon Peters (Assembly of First Nations) and Canadian ANC representatives.

6:00 News Conference - Airport - Terminal Two - International' Arrivals

Thursday, 27 August 1987 (travels to Ottawa)

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1:30 Members of NGO community meet Mr. Tambo, hosted by IDAFSA

3:15 The Hon Leader of the Opposition, John Turner

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MR. TAMBO WILL NOT BE AT THE BRIEFING, SEE REVERSE

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Friday, 28 August 1987 (Ottawa)

9:30 NDP leader Ed Broadbent, some NDP Caucus members

11:00 CLC President Shirley Carr

1:00 The Rt Hon Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

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Saturday, 29 August 1987 (Toronto)

9:30 Meetings with NGOs

1:00 Rally, Queen's Park

The seeds of a settlement in South Africa

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, who visited southern Africa two weeks ago, wrote this article in anticipation of today's meeting in Ottawa with Oliver Tambo, leader of the African National Congress.

By Joe Clark

OTTAWA — Fourteen months ago, the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth concluded, in its report on South Africa, that "the alternative to a negotiated solution would be appalling chaos, bloodshed and destruction."

That group was the closest anyone came to finding a formula which might lead to a negotiated end to apartheid. But its mission failed and tensions and killings have grown.

The Commonwealth heads of government meet again in Vancouver in October. South Africa will be on the agenda, and Canada will be in the chair.

Canada has already played a major role in building international pressure against apartheid. It has implemented all of the sanctions and the measures proposed by the last Commonwealth conference and has encouraged more powerful Western countries to increase pressure for change.

At the same time, Canada has been able to develop a relationship of trust with the Front Line States and the African National Congress that it is hoped has helped strengthen the hand of black moderates.

Canada shares with other Western democracies an obligation to seek a peaceful end to apartheid.

But Canada has more influence than others in the West. There are not many countries whose representative would be able to meet on a Thursday with leadership of the African National Congress and the next day with the foreign minister of South Africa. Indeed, Canada would not have been able to do that had we either disrupted relations entirely with South Africa, as one extreme has suggested, or taken no action against apartheid, as Canadians at another extreme had argued.

Our challenge is to maintain steady growing pressure upon the South African government to change apartheid and, at the same time, encourage real dialogue between white South Africans and the leadership of the black community.

In preparation for the Commonwealth summit, and the francophone summit, which opens Monday, the Prime Minister asked me to visit Africa to examine what possibilities for negotiation might exist.

Joe Clark: Canadian external affairs minister, on his trip to southern Africa two weeks ago, met with, among others, Rev. Allan Boesak, leader of the opposition United Democratic Front, in Pretoria.

I made it clear on my departure that we expected no dramatic results, and there were none.

There is no breakthrough imminent in South Africa. But it would be wrong not to be alert to some significant areas of agreement between leaders of the black community in South Africa and the South African government, for it is by building on this agreement that a breakthrough may eventually come.

What are those areas of agreement?

Neither the government of South Africa, nor black South African leaders, including the ANC, exclude the possibility of negotiations in which black South Africans would be seeking the establishment of a multiracial society with equal rights and equal opportunities for all.

Both parties believe it is better to resolve the apartheid question by dialogue than by violence.

Both sides know already the terrible cost of violence and they dread the devastation that will strike black and white South Africans alike if it continues.

In addition, I was encouraged to be told by Alfred Nzo that the African National Congress does not insist that it alone represent black South Africans at the table, but acknowledges there are other spokesmen. I was pleased to be able to review these issues with Allan Boesak of the United Democratic Front, whom I also met in Pretoria.

These are not sufficient conditions for negotiations; what is lacking still is the will to negotiate.

In my conversations with both the ANC and foreign minister Pik Botha, I raised again the "Possible Negotiating Concept" developed by the Commonwealth group last year.

That concept foundered on the question of violence, especially the South African government's insistence the black opposition renounce violence as a prelude to talks. It is clear this remains a stumbling block.

There is also the issue of violence from the black perspective — that is, the violence that goes along with the South African government's efforts to suppress black resistance.

Our own position — which I restated to the ANC and to Botha — is that Canada does not condone violence by anyone as a means of resolving political disputes. We believe the root of violence in South Africa is apartheid and the violence can be ended only when apartheid ends.

But if sufficient conditions do not yet exist for negotiations, some of the necessary conditions are in place.

It may prove significant that the ANC does not demand recognition as the sole representative of the black community; that may eventually help the South African government back away from its position that the ANC is merely a Marxist, terrorist organization with which no talks are possible.

While there are undoubtedly Marxists in the ANC, there are also people of other views who simply seek equality in their own land.

The greater danger, it seems to me, is that continued intransigence on the part of the South African government will drive more and more people to radical solutions.

This is not the time to predict what may emerge from the Francophone and Commonwealth summits; I want neither to raise false hopes nor to shut the door on any initiative.

But having apartheid on the agenda will not only keep the South African government alive to the world's impatience but also force us to search for ways of furthering the goal of ending the system of racial discrimination in South Africa.

As in most foreign policy, we are dealing here with human emotions, not abstract issues. Two of those emotions have an overwhelming influence on the tensions in Africa. One is the profound fear within the white Afrikaan community that they will be overrun and forced to leave their own country. The other is the deep suspicion with which the black leadership regards the South African government.

That fear and suspicion must be addressed — both by initiatives that might bring people together and by continuing pressure to demonstrate that fear and suspicion offer no refuge. Those are the challenges now faced by everyone who is serious about bringing a peaceful end to apartheid.

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Some of the 11 youngsters appearing in a Johannesburg court on charges of public violence. Some of the children (the youngest is aged eight) were so small they could barely see over the dock. They were accused of taking soft-drinks that were lying on the ground after older youths had looted a delivery truck during unrest in Alexandra township.

South Africa's War Against the Children

"An indiscriminate but systematic campaign of terror against all black children is now being carried out in South Africa" wrote the authoritative Detainees' Parents Support Committee in 1986.

In May and June 1987 "hundreds" of children being held in illegal detention were released, according to state authorities. Many were re-arrested, some being enticed back into custody under the ruse of signing release forms for the police. The numbers now in detention are not known.

According to the government itself more than 2000 children under 18 years were detained between July 1985 and January 1986 — one-quarter of all those detained. The British International Defense and Aid Fund reports that 209 children were killed and 703 injured in the period Jan. 1 1985 to Feb. 10 1986. During the current states of emergency (beginning June 1985) qualified observers estimate 8000 children have been detained, or 40% of the total detainees. With the current news blackout precise figures are not known.

"The regime is using its emergency powers to try to reverse the advances that have been made in recent years in the legal resistance to apartheid. Youth organizations have played a major role in this process and they are the targets of the regime's repression. The treatment of young detainees is consistent with the general character of the apartheid regime's repressive actions — violent and brutal" writes British IDAF.

"The most common pattern of detention appears to be that a child is arrested and then taken to a police station where he or she is assaulted for a few hours and then taken to a detention cell either in the police station or at a jail. During the assault, children are required to answer questions or make statements regarding events or other people. In every instance children reported being hit with fists, sjamboks, or with rifle butts and kicked."

The facts and descriptions on this page are taken from *A Memorandum on Children Under Repression*, compiled by the DPSC and published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations (London, England 1986) and from reports written for UNICEF, the UN Centre against Apartheid, the Black Sash, the Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights, the International Commission of Jurists, and British IDAF:

Short case histories:

A 16-year-old girl

"I was detained from my home at about midnight. The people who arrested me were SAP (South African Police) and Administration Board police. One of the SAP accused me of being one of those who had set fire to the house of a black C.I.D. Policeman. I knew nothing about this matter.

I was taken to the Administration Board office and five Administration police assaulted me with their fists. I was hit on my body and my face. I was then taken to the police station charge office. The next morning I was taken to the C.I.D. office. I was not questioned but four C.I.D. police beat me up using their hands and fists and kicking me.

After this I was questioned by a man from Special Branch. When I denied any knowledge of the burning of the house of the policeman, the C.I.D. police beat me again. They also put their hands around my throat and blindfolded me.

Then I felt shocks at the top of my spine. This seemed to go on for about 10 minutes. When this was being done I was sitting on the floor. While the shock treatment continued one of the police put his feet on my knees to keep me still. After this I was taken to the prison with three other girls and three boys. In prison I shared a cell with the three other girls.

I was released after two months. Twice during my detention I was taken from the prison to the charge office and again assaulted. I was beaten by the three C.I.D. police. They used their fists and hands and when I tried to protect myself, they handcuffed me and one of them assaulted me with the sjambok on my back. They kept asking me about another boy and if I knew where he was. The second time they wanted to know about the selling of the "Release Mandela' tee-shirts.

Two youths fired at, one shot dead.

"On Sunday, I and my friend were going to the shops to buy bread at about 8 p.m. When we came out of the shop there were police outside the shopping centre and two of them were inside a yard of a councillor. When we walked past them one of them said 'Here are those dogs, COSAS dogs. So when we heard that we ran away. One of the municipal police fired some shots and my friend was shot dead by the police on the skull.

I ran to a nearby house and watched his body which was now surrounded by the police. He slept on the ground for about an hour or more. I then came out of the house and went home. I couldn't go and tell his parents because I was shocked too. The following day I went to his place. The parents had not heard of the incident. The parents went to the government mortuary where they found his body."

DPSC 1986

"Three young boys in Dobsonville, two aged 13 and one only 11 years old, were arrested on November 8, 1985 when police came to break up a crowd attending a night vigil for a 15-year-old boy killed by security forces. Tear gas was fired into the house and inside a tent that had been erected for mourners. The police kicked down the doors and began assaulting people in the house. The 11-year-old boy was picked up and flung against a wall by a policeman. Everyone in the house was forced to get into waiting police vans. According to the boys, the security forces formed two lines between which people had to pass to reach the vans. As they passed they were hit with sjamboks and fists and were kicked. . . .

Report to Unicef, 1987

A 13-year-old who has just been released from detention in Johannesburg shows wounds suffered during assaults by police.

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Youths in Cape Town protest the State of Emergency *Photo: Carolin Schuten*

"One of the most amazing truths that has emerged for us is that the human spirit is indomitable. We have become aware of a tide in our country that will not be stayed by a spirit of oppression" the Detainees' Parents Support Committee concludes, in its dossier on children's suffering *Memorandum on Children Under Repression.* Evidence of this spirit is found in a book *Two Dogs and Freedom: Children of the Townships Speak Out* — writings of black children age 8 to 15 who were asked by their teacher to write about their lives:

When the police come the children get scattered in townships and they say shoot to kill because they say there is a state of emergency. — Bongare (11)

There are hippos everywhere around Soweto. These men which are called boers run, shoot, beat and kill our students, they can even rape them. — Thulisile (13)

We must help each other as one nation. There must be no hating one another because god likes to see his children loving one another. If we want freedom we must respect ourself, we must not be divided ourself, we must stay together. — Nongezi (13)

After finding freedom we must be united with other nations and stop apartheid, have equal rights and do what is right because we don't say freedom just to be free and do wrong. Some of the white people like blacks and others hate them because of one president's apartheid. We must love whites and they should like us in order to build a very strong nation. Life is nothing without love. — Viren (13)

When I am old I would like to have a wife and two children a boy and a girl and a big house and two dogs and freedom. — Noagi (8)

This book was originally banned on the grounds that it contained "twisted and dangerous images of happenings in South Africa".

YES, I want to help the children in South Africa, and their families.

Here is my donation to IDAFSA's humanitarian and legal work $_____

Please send me more information about the work of IDAFSA. _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **Postal Code** _____ **Phone** _____

AFRICAN
NATIONAL
CONGRESS

POWER
TO THE PEOPLE!

S. African govt. ruling only by force of arms, says rebel

CC Wednesday June 15, 1986

PARIS (AP) — The president of the banned African National Congress said today South Africa has become ungovernable and the only solution for the divided country is the end of apartheid.

Reviewing events since the uprising by blacks in the Johannesburg suburb of Soweto 10 years ago, Oliver Tambo said the political climate of the country has changed completely.

Tambo

"There is a virtually total impatience with the continuation of apartheid on the part of the majority and that impatience is taking very visible forms," he said. "The result is that increasingly over the past two years the government has had to live by the barrel of the gun."

The ANC is the main guerrilla group fighting the South African government.

Tambo told a news conference held during a United Nations conference on sanctions against South Africa that last week's reimposition of a state of emergency by the Pretoria government indicated resistance was continuing.

"It looks as if the government has taken the form of armed occupation," he said. "This demonstrates how far we have come since 1,000 children were shot 10 years ago. The country has become ungovernable. A state of emergency is not government."

The South African government says 575 people were killed during the violent protests that began with the Soweto protest on June 16, 1976.

Tambo said reforms by the government to ease apartheid had little effect on the black majority. Apartheid is the policy of racial separation under which South Africa's five million whites dominate its 24 million blacks, who are denied most rights.

"It's all too late. The only thing that will satisfy the people is the end of the apartheid system," he said.

ANC leader-in-exile meets U.K. minister

Associated Press
LONDON

G+M Monday Sept 22, 1986

A leader of the main black guerrilla group in South Africa conferred Saturday with Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe in the group's highest-level meeting with the British Government.

Oliver Tambo, leader-in-exile of the African National Congress, met later with U.S. envoy Chester Crocker, another first meeting at that level between the ANC and the United States.

Mr. Tambo met with Sir Geoffrey for nearly two hours at Chevening, the Foreign Secretary's country home southeast of London. A Foreign Office statement said it was "a good, candid and open meeting . . . frank and serious."

ANC spokesman Frene Ginwala said the talks were held at Sir Geoffrey's invitation, and she indicated that the British Government "now accepted the centrality of the African National Congress to a solution in South Africa."

The Foreign Office said Sir Geoffrey stressed Britain's "total opposition to the system of apartheid and our wish to see rapid, fundamental but peaceful change in South Africa." But he also "emphasized that the British Government utterly rejected violence as a means of achieving change."

Oliver Tambo

For years, Britain refused to have any formal contact with the ANC, saying the rebel organization, based in Zambia, espouses violence.

Sir Geoffrey also "made it clear that the 12 member states of the European Community are united in their determination to do everything possible to promote a peaceful settlement in South Africa through dialogue and a suspension of violence on all sides," the Foreign Office statement said.

ANC chief meets British minister

Reuter
LONDON

S+M June 25, 1986

Black South African leader Oliver Tambo and a senior Foreign Office minister held unprecedented talks yesterday that both described as candid and useful.

It was the first official meeting between a British minister and Mr. Tambo's African National Congress, which is trying to overthrow white-minority rule in South Africa.

Mr. Tambo spent 75 minutes with Foreign Office Minister Lynda Chalker and afterward told journalists: "We thought it was a very good meeting, very cordial and candid. We had the views of the British Government put to the ANC, and the views of the ANC put to the British Government."

Mr. Tambo said he had been given no hint of a change in the British Government's position, and told reporters, "It is necessary for Britain to demonstrate which side she is on. It is not clear. There is an impression she is on the side of (South African President P. W.) Botha."

In inviting Mr. Tambo to meet Mrs. Chalker, Britain dropped its insistence that the ANC should first renounce the use of violence.

Mr. Tambo said: "She (Mrs. Chalker) explained the British Government's concern about violence, and we explained why there is violence at all. The source of the violence is the apartheid system.

"I can't say we convinced the British Government on the question of violence, but we did explain what the real problem is."

Mrs. Chalker later told British television, "We have to find a way and that was the message we were expressing to one another.

"There was a good deal more understanding than I feared there might be. But we are not at one."

Before the meeting, Mr. Tambo met several Conservative Party MPs who told him that if he wants to win public support in Britain, he should condemn "necklace killings."

Suspected police informants in the black townships have been killed with a burning tire placed around their necks.

Mr. Tambo told the MPs, "I have never really been reconciled to the necklace. The necklace is a product of apartheid. I regret it but cannot condemn it."

Government sources said a meeting yesterday of the Cabinet's overseas and defence committee would arrive at a broad general idea of the Government's approach to the sanctions question, which would then be put to the full Cabinet today.

Hours before Mr. Tambo met Mrs. Chalker, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher met senior Cabinet colleagues and put the finishing touches to a package which marks a shift away from her previous opposition to full economic sanctions.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Oliver Reginald Tambo
President
African National Congress

(d.o.b. 27 October 1917)

Oliver Tambo was born into a peasant family at Bizana, Eastern Pondoland, Cape, on 27 October 1917. He attended a local Methodist Mission School and the Anglican Holy Cross Mission School at Flagstaff before enrolling as a boarder at St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg. He matriculated first class in 1938.

Tambo then registered at the University of Fort Hare, having received a scholarship from the Transkeian Bunga, and he received his B.Sc. degree in 1941. He then enrolled for an education diploma, but was expelled from the University in 1942 for his part in a student strike against compulsory church services. Tambo subsequently taught at his old school St Peters, as a science and mathematics master and it was during this period that he made a tremendous political impact on many of his pupils, including Duma Nokwe, Joe Molefi and Joe Mathews.

In 1944 he became a founder member of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League which was established to press for a more militant approach in the organisation.

Tambo had always been keen to study law and in 1948 he became articled to a legal firm in Johannesburg. In December 1952 he and Nelson Mandela opened the first African legal partnership in South Africa.

Whilst in Johannesburg, Tambo became increasingly involved with the ANC Youth League, holding the positions of national secretary, Transvaal President and National Vice-President from 1948-49. In December 1949 he became a member of the ANC National Executive and was Secretary-General from 1955-58. He was then appointed Deputy President General, a position created to overcome the difficulties of coping with the isolation of Albert Lutuli, President of the ANC, who was restricted to his home in Natal.

During the early 1950s, Tambo was given the task of updating and revamping the ANC Constitution which was finally accepted in 1957.

In 1954 he came under banning orders in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act and he was prohibited from attending public gatherings and from leaving the magisterial districts of Benoni and Johannesburg for a two-year period. However, he was not forced to resign from the ANC and still played a major role in the campaigns against the introduction of Bantu Education and the Western areas removal.

In 1956 Tambo, a devout Christian, was accepted by Bishop Ambrose Reeves as a candidate for ordination, but in December of that year he was arrested and charged with high treason along with other Congress leaders. The charges against him were dropped in December 1957.

In 1959 Tambo received his second banning order prohibiting him from attending gatherings for a five year period. The ANC leadership suspected that the organisation would soon be outlawed resulting in mass arrests, and the National Executive decided to ask Tambo and J.D. Matlou to leave South Africa and establish the ANC mission abroad. However, he was still in the country when the Sharpeville crisis broke out. When the proposed banning of the ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) was made public in March 1960, Tambo immediately left Cape Town with Ronald Segal, editor of *Africa South,* for Bechuanaland.

Tambo has subsequently headed the ANC's external mission and has travelled widely on behalf of the organisation, including trips to the United States, Europe, Moscow, Cuba, India, North Korea, China and Africa. He has appeared before the United Nations and regularly attends meetings of the Organisation of African Unity. In 1984 he was refused a transit visa by Mozambique to visit Swaziland following the signing of the Nkomati Accord by South Africa and Mozambique.

In the early 1960s, Tambo helped establish a United Front comprising the exiled ANC, South African Indian Congress and the PAC, but the body soon collapsed.

In 1965 Tambo was instrumental in setting up an ANC guerilla training camp at Morogoro, Tanzania, and this subsequently became the ANC military headquarters. In 1967, on the death of Albert Lutuli, he became acting President of the ANC, a position he still holds.

Tambo has lived in Tanzania, Lusaka and London. He is married to Adelaide and they have three adult children, Dudulani, Dalindlela and Tambi.

The unofficial guest at a special party

The Times Profile: Oliver Tambo

Until recently, whenever Oliver Tambo came to London he had to behave like an uninvited guest. Apart from African diplomats and a handful of British friends, few people wanted to know him.

It is different now. When Tambo, leader of the African National Congress (ANC) was here two weeks ago he was the star attraction at the Labour Party conference and journalists queued up to interview him. Sir Shridath Ramphal, the Commonwealth secretary-general, gave a dinner for him at Marlborough House, attended by high commissioners, businessmen and other prominent citizens who are interested in South Africa.

British officials, however, were conspicuous by their absence because the Government will have nothing to do with the ANC on the grounds that it is dedicated to the violent overthrow of the South African government.

This week Tambo is in Nassau for the Commonwealth Conference – unofficially, of course, because the British don't want him there even if most other Commonwealth members do. He will return to London at the end of this month for more lunches and dinners with people of influence.

It used to be only black African and Soviet bloc countries that treated him so royally. But during a recent visit to the United States he was feted on Wall Street and Capitol Hill. Only the Reagan administration gave him the cold shoulder, for the same reason as the British.

'If I'm a terrorist, it's because of the terrorism of apartheid'

He's in Nassau without power, without official voice, to put South Africa on trial in front of an organization from which she withdrew 22 years ago because of opposition to her racial policies, policies that will dominate the 1985 Commonwealth Conference over the next few days. Ironically, if Mr Tambo and his supporters inside and outside the Commonwealth are successful, South Africa may one day rejoin the club.

The explanation for Tambo's new status is the current eruption of political unrest across South Africa. The world has suddenly realized that apartheid is beginning to crumble and that the ANC will have a crucial role to play in the transition from white minority to black majority rule.

That has also become apparent to white South African business leaders who last month defied President Botha and flew to Zambia for talks with Tambo and other ANC leaders. "We had a marvellous meeting", says Tambo, recalling how he broke the ice by proposing that blacks and whites should sit next to, rather than opposite, each other. "I wanted to emphasize that we were all South Africans, no matter what our colour is."

President Botha's administration regards Tambo as a terrorist. He does not shy away from the term. "If I am a terrorist, it is because I have been forced to become one by the terrorism of apartheid", he says. But he denies the ANC is actively sponsoring a campaign of terror. In a "liberation struggle", he believes, innocent people are bound to get hurt. But he insists that the ANC does not deliberately try to kill women and children – unlike the South African authorities.

Tambo certainly does not look or sound like a terrorist. Standing, neatly suited, amid the gilt and chandeliers of Marlborough House the other day, he could easily have been one of the African high commissioners who had come to hear what he had to say.

Tambo's message is a simple one. Apartheid is doomed. President Botha's reforms are just an attempt to hoodwink the world and buy time. The international community should not allow itself to be fooled by his "manoeuvres". The West should impose sanctions now and support the ANC's efforts to establish a "new society" in South Africa, in which blacks and whites live together as equals.

There are two motives for Tambo's present travels around western capitals. He wants the West to boycott South Africa, but he also wants to canvass diplomatic support in the hope that the international community will come to regard the ANC as the only real representative of the South African people and eventually, perhaps, recognize it as a government-in-exile.

Many people find it hard to equate Tambo's comforting vision of a peaceful, racially-integrated South Africa with the reality of the vicious and bloody struggle that is taking place there. At an ANC conference in Zambia last June a decision was taken to intensify the "people's war" and to strike at "soft" targets. Tambo himself has said the struggle is moving into "an era of heavy bloodshed".

Would Tambo have the ability to bring forth from this expected carnage a country which, according to the ANC's "Freedom Charter", will be based on peace, liberty, justice and equality? Some doubt that he would even want to, that the regime which would emerge if ever the ANC comes to power would be as ruthlessly authoritarian as the communist governments which are now its backers.

It is true that the ANC receives much of its military support from Moscow; it is true that it has a close alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and that communists such as Joe Slovo and Moses Mahbida hold senior posts on the ANC's executive committee.

But it is incorrect to regard Tambo as a Russian stooge or political fanatic. He is an old-style black nationalist who has often proved himself to be a force for moderation at times when more extreme elements wanted to plunge the ANC into a campaign of indiscriminate violence or shift it sharply to the left.

Tambo presided over moves earlier this year which brought non-Africans on to the executive committee for the first time. As he pointed out, an organization that preaches non-racialism must practise non-racialism as well.

His views on the future of the South African economy are also only moderately socialist. Although he favours state participation in such industrial conglomerates as Anglo-American, Barlow Rand and Sanlam, he insists there will still be "plenty of room for free enterprise".

Tambo belongs to the generation of nationalists who came to the fore at a time when apartheid was being methodically implemented by the National Party government that swept to power in 1948. Some of his contemporaries are now dead. Others, like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are in prison. His friendship with Mandela goes back to the 1940s when they both helped to set up the ANC's Youth League. They have remained firm friends ever since even though the two have not met since Tambo left South Africa in 1960 to set up an external wing of the ANC.

In a recent message which Mandela smuggled out of Pollsmoor prison near Cape Town, where he is serving a life sentence, the symbolic leader of the ANC went out of his way to praise his "good friend, Oliver Tambo".

At 16 Tambo travelled to Johannesburg from the Transkei to attend a school set up by the Community for the Resurrection. It was there that he met the then Father Trevor Huddleston.

Later Tambo asked Huddleston to help him join the priesthood. During much of his early political career the ANC was dedicated to a policy of peaceful protest and non-violent disobedience and Huddleston's superior, aware of Tambo's nationalist sentiments, was unenthusiastic. However Tambo was about to be accepted as a candidate for ordination in 1956 when he was among 156 men and women brought to trial on charges of treason.

By 1961 the ANC had been banned by the South African government, and turned to a policy of limited violence. Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) was established as the ANC's military wing and embarked on a sabotage campaign against government installations. Tambo has headed the ANC in exile since then, flitting constantly between its main centres in Lusaka, Luanda and Dar es Salaam.

The ANC is a secretive organization – with good reason. The South Africans have carried out a number of bloody raids on ANC centres in Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland and Mozambique. Tambo is convinced he will be the target of a South African attack sooner or later. The ANC's governing body is its executive committee which was expanded in June from 19 to 30 members to include a number of radicals. At the same time a decision was taken to intensify the armed struggle, suggesting that the supporters of militant black consciousness, who joined the ANC after the Soweto unrest in 1976, are gaining influence in the organization.

Umkonto we Sizwe is believed to have a trained guerrilla force numbering between 6,000 and 10,000. It is led by Joe Modise who is number three in the ANC leadership. For years its activities were limited to sporadic attacks against railway lines and electricity pylons. More recently it has carried out raids against the Sasol oil-from-coal complex and the Koeburg nuclear power station as well as a bloody attack on an army recruiting office. During the first six months of this year the ANC carried out 44 guerrilla attacks, the same number as during the whole of 1984.

'An old-style black nationalist . . . often a force for moderation'

Whether Tambo can control the forces under his command remains to be seen. He says that the ANC is "determined to make apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable". But he also insists that he has "no wish to celebrate liberation day surrounded by a desolate landscape of destroyed buildings and machines reduced to scrap metal".

Is a peaceful solution still achievable? He doubts it. The only negotiations he is prepared to contemplate would be about the mechanisms for an immediate change to majority rule and that is something which President Botha will certainly not accept.

So the man who wanted to become a priest now feels obliged to carry on a war which for a long time he tried to avoid. That is the tragedy of South Africa.

Nicholas Ashford

Warren Harrison

Celebrity rebel: Oliver Tambo addressing this year's Labour Party conference

BIOGRAPHY

1917 Born in Bizana, in the Transkei, son of a peasant farmer.
1924-33 Attended mission schools in the Transkei.
1933-38 Attended St Peter's secondary school in Johannesburg.
1938-41 Attended Fort Hare University, graduated with a BSc. Went on to study for an education diploma but was sent down one month before examinations for organizing a student protest.
1944 Joined ANC.
1945 Appointed vice-president of ANC youth league.
1949 Elected to the ANC executive, which he has been on ever since.
1954 Banned from attending public meetings for two years.
1955 Appointed secretary-general of ANC.
1956 Arrested on treason charges, released in 1957.
1958 Appointed deputy president of ANC.
1960 Leaves country to set up external wing of ANC seven days after the Sharpeville shootings.
1967 Becomes acting president of the ANC following the death of Albert Luthuli.
1977 Elected ANC president, a post he still holds.

Tambo in Washington:
A Foot in the Door

BY JIM CASON & MIKE FLESHMAN

ANC President Oliver Tambo's meeting with US Secretary of State George Shultz in Washington was the centerpiece of his 14-day trip to the US in late January, yet neither side expected dramatic policy changes to emerge from the meeting. Secretary Shultz was so eager to downplay the event that he refused to be filmed with the guerrilla leader. But the mere fact that they met is a major political victory for the ANC and for the movement's strategy of isolating Pretoria from its political and financial supporters in the West.

First and foremost, the meeting was a victory for the South African people. Only the strength of the resistance at home and the overwhelming support for the ANC in the townships could have forced a reluctant Reagan administration into a high-level meeting with what Washington has described as "communist-backed terrorists."

If it was a victory for the people of South Africa it was also a major setback for the South African government, which has portrayed the ANC as "Soviet surrogates" and itself as the West's first line of defense against Russian pentration of the region. The meeting between South Africa's closest Western ally and its most hated enemy set off alarms bells all over Pretoria. And the strategy pursued by the veteran nationalist leader during this recent visit is likely to keep them ringing.

In contrast to earlier visits, much of the American political and financial establishment went out of its way this time to cultivate contact with the resistance movement. In New York, the ANC leader met privately with several corporate leaders on Wall Street and with former secretary of state Henry Kissinger. He also dined with New York governor and presidential hopeful Mario Cuomo and addressed a luncheon of corporate and political leaders hosted by the elite Foreign Policy Association.

At that luncheon Tambo reiterated his movement's commitment to the armed struggle and vigorously defended both the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party and its relationship with the Soviet Union. He also dismissed Western efforts to promote bantustan chief Gatsha Buthelezi as a moderate alternative to radical change, calling it a "lapse of realism."

The South African reality, Tambo reminded his audience, was one of "massive" support for the ANC and its program inside the country. The strength of the ANC internally, Tambo said, guaranteed it a place at the negotiating table. "If the whites look for something other than the ANC," he warned, "they will find it in a den of blood."

But while taking a hard line on the present situation, Tambo sketched out broad social democratic positions when he spoke of South Africa's economic and political future.

Speaking to an audience that included Mrs. Laurence S. Rockefeller, Ford Motor Company Vice President Wayne Fredericks and Citicorp Vice President Wilfred Koplowitz, Tambo reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to a democratic and nonracial society, "where people are not conscious of the color of their skin, let alone anybody else's skin."

"Some of us have read and reread the American Declaration of Independence," Tambo continued. "And to us it says all the right things .... The ANC calls for a united South Africa – one people, one nation and one government, one that derives its authority from the consent of the governed."

Political democracy, Tambo told his listeners, would be accompanied by economic change as well. "Under apartheid there is no distribution of wealth whatever – abject poverty among great wealth." Poverty takes the lives of 50,000 black children each year, Tambo asserted. "This must be redressed."

But he reminded his largely corporate audience that key sectors of the economy are already state-owned and that the ANC had met with a delegation of South African business leaders headed by Gavin Relly, chairman of the mammoth Anglo-American corporation. When Relly came to Lusaka, Tambo said, "We met as brothers from the same country" to debate the current and future role of private enterprise in South Africa. "And we continue to debate these things."

In his carefully crafted speech, Tambo seemed first to be putting his corporate audience on notice that the ANC was a force that had to be dealt with and then assuring the listeners of the movement's broad, democratic nature. But the central theme of this talk, and of most of the ANC leader's speeches during this trip, was a quest for legitimacy and recognition from the American political mainstream.

Of course, Tambo's reception wasn't entirely positive. He was questioned unceasingly by the media about the ANC's "violent tactics," the killing of whites and the movement's ties to the Soviet

Alon Reininger/Contact/Newsweek

Oliver Tambo with Jesse Jackson at Riverside Church, N.Y.

Union. And while Tambo was meeting with Shultz, demonstrators outside the State Department protested the meeting and held mock necklacings of people on the pavement; fourteen far right members of Congress sent a letter to Shultz protesting the meeting. Republican presidential hopeful and Senate leader Robert Dole felt strongly enough that he plans to introduce legislation urging the US to oppose negotiations with the ANC unless it renounces violence.

Anyone who doubted that anti-ANC feelings still abound had only to read an editorial in the top US business paper, *The Wall Street Journal*, which condemned the meeting and argued that the government should promote such "constructive blacks" as Buthelezi and right-wing churchman Isaac Mokoena.

The *Journal's* editorials, however, are consistently more conservative than many business leaders and, if recognition was the immediate goal of Tambo's trip, it was clearly a success. The ANC leader was featured in dozens of newspaper articles, TV interviews and other media profiles. Business and government officials lined up to meet with Tambo, to hear the ANC's position and, in some cases, to talk with the movement that many assume will become the future government of South Africa.

The State Department was also trying to take advantage of the Shultz/Tambo meeting to revive US policy towards South Africa, which Shultz conceded earlier this month was "stuck in the mud." Washington is apparently annoyed with its allies in Pretoria, whose absolute intransigence was a factor in prompting Congress to override Reagan and vote for sanctions last year and could begin to threaten long-term US interests in the region.

The meeting, however, was more than merely symbolic; some clues to the US strategy can be found in the State Department report on "Communist Influence in South Africa," released in early January. According to the report, the South African Communist Party (SACP) has considerable influence in the ANC, but does not control it (an analysis that, interestingly, is now also articulated by the White House's own National Security Council). The report suggests that "SACP interests are served by an inflexible South African attitude toward negotiations with the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments, and by the ANC's focus on increasing military pressure on South Africa."

Most interesting, however, is the last paragraph of the report, which begins: "If Pretoria reconsiders its opposition to negotiations or if ANC relations with Western countries (and hopes for recognition by them) continue to improve, serious policy differences could surface within the ANC." Such a strategy of cultivating the "genuine nationalists" within the ANC and trying to wean them from the communists is not new, but it may provide some additional clues to the US strategy for the Shultz/Tambo meeting and Secretary Shultz's continued emphasis on violence and communism.

During his trip, however, Tambo made it clear that this strategy had no chance of success. Speaking at the Foreign Policy Association, the ANC leader went out of his way to defend the ANC's alliance with the SACP and to stress that the Party had completely accepted both the ANC's political program and its leadership. Again and again during the trip Tambo made the point that, although in the early years of the ANC there may have been hostility toward the Party, the ANC-SACP alliance today is a very strong one.

Recognition but not Support

The Tambo trip symbolizes the growing acceptance within the American mainstream of the ANC as a key political factor in the South African struggle. And even without any substantive discussions, the meetings at both the business and government levels in the United States certainly add to the pressure on South Africa.

But in transforming this recognition into active political support, the movement faces major obstacles, some of which were evident during the January trip. For instance, Tambo's attempts to focus on the need for international pressure and sanctions were consistently submerged as he was forced in the media into lengthy defense of the ANC's armed struggle and its alliance with communists.

Furthermore, the Shultz/Tambo meeting is unlikely to result in any substantive change in US policy. In a talk with foreign correspondents just before the meeting, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker seemed to make this same point when he said the US still recognizes the white government in Pretoria as the "legitimate sovereign government" and that US policy must still focus on influencing that government.

In fact, the US is likely to push for major political concessions from the movement in exchange for further recognition – concessions such as the abandonment of force. During this recent trip the ANC has responded to this pressure by militantly and in some cases quite graphically defending its armed struggle and its alliance with the SACP while continuing to insist on the need for sanctions.

The anti-apartheid movement needs to pick up this challenge and press for greater recognition of the liberation movement and defend the South African people's right to take up arms. It also needs to begin to deal more forthrightly with the issue of communism and to defend the South African people's right to form alliances with whomever they please.

Just before Tambo's visit we asked the ANC's Chief Representative in the United States, Neo Mnumzana, about the changes in the US attitude toward South Africa and the ANC over the last few months. He responded by noting the importance of grassroots mobilizing efforts in the US in pressuring Congress and the administration and then said, "We succeeded in opening the door, however slightly, and our challenge is to open it completely."

S. AFRICA BUILDING NUCLEAR BOMB TEST SITE -
AS YET THE A-BOMB DESTROYS BOTH BLACKS AND WHITES ALIKE, BUT I'M SURE WE CAN IMPROVE ON THAT...
TARGET
B-BOMB

SOUTH AFRICA AT THE CROSSROADS

1987 Canon Collins Annual Memorial Lecture

Delivered by the President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, 28th May 1987

The Chairperson,
Your Excellencies,
My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,
Comrades and Friends,

(The late Canon John Collins founded IDAFSA.)

It is now almost five years since Canon John Collins passed away. With his departure, many of us lost a dear friend. As a people, we lost a fellow-combatant for justice and liberation, a dependable ally in the struggle to abolish the system of apartheid. Yet, such was the durability of his good works that it was inevitable that they would outlast the short life that is given to us all and thus serve to turn the memory of the man into a material force that will continue to transform the destinies of the living.

As early as 1954, when he visited South Africa, he had the possibility not merely to study the situation as it then was, but more, to understand the nature of the apartheid system. From his assessment at the time, it was clear to him that South Africa, which he described as a 'madhouse', was heading for disaster. Even when some members of his own church within South Africa denounced him for being a foreign, meddling priest, Canon Collins did not waver in his involvement in the struggle against racist domination, precisely because he understood the dementia of this system.

We meet here today to pay a continuing tribute to him. Some of us have come here as his disciples. As such, all we can do is try to reflect on the message he left us, in the hope that we can communicate something of his example so that one or more among us can be inspired to act as he did and thereby contribute their tithe to the banishment of evil.

Canon Collins came into our lives at the inception of the crisis which the imposition of the apartheid system was to bring to the people of South Africa. In 1952 and from 1955 onwards, he intervened in the persisting drama of South African politics to comfort the persecuted and to help save some of the most outstanding representatives of our people from possible death sentences or long terms of imprisonment. He came to our aid not in pity but in solidarity. He stretched out his hand to our people because he saw that what was happening to us was an unacceptable attack against humanity itself. He acted because he could not stand aside.

When the racist regime arrested and charged with high treason 156 leaders of our democratic movement in 1956, it hoped that it would destroy that movement and create a situation in which it would expand and entrench the apartheid system without opposition. John Collins took the side of those on trial, as he had supported the patriots who joined our Campaign in Defiance of Unjust Laws in 1952. His actions carried the message that in the struggle between the forces of democracy and those of racism, there can be no neutrality.

The crisis which was in its early stages when Canon Collins joined us for the emancipation of our people has matured. The septic boil caused by the apartheid system is ready to burst, as the brutally repressive casing which contains the putrefaction of this system ruptures irrevocably and for all time. South Africa is at the crossroads.

It has taken many years of struggle to reach the point at which we are today. In that period, tens of thousands have been killed, injured and imprisoned within South Africa. Thousands of others have suffered a similar fate in Namibia. The rest of Southern Africa has also seen enormous numbers of people die, economies forced to the verge of collapse and social programmes brought to a halt.

Precisely that scale of destruction has only served to confirm the view among the victims of apartheid violence that they dare not give up, but have to fight with everything they can lay their hands on, to end the system that has brought about so much suffering. Above everything else, it is that resolve and determination by millions of people which guarantees the defeat of the Pretoria regime and the liquidation of the apartheid system.

And yet there are those in this country who, unlike John Collins, doubt the certainty of our victory. These calculate that the racist regime is so powerful, and the white minority so steadfast in its commitment to the maintenance of its domination, that the oppressed are condemned to a futile and self-destructive battering at the ramparts of the racist fortress. But, of course, these doubting Thomases also profess an abhorrence for apartheid and declare a desire to see it brought to an end.

These positions have resulted in a policy which amounts to appeasement of the apartheid regime. Of central importance to the logical integrity of this policy is the notion that the Pretoria regime can and must be persuaded to turn itself into its opposite. Accordingly, it is required and expected that the racists should themselves dismantle the oppressive system they have instituted and over which they preside. Thus would we see the miraculous conversion of oppressors into liberators and the consequent transformation of the liberation movement into an irrelevance.
Another important element in this equation is the definition of the essence of the policy that the white minority regime must follow, as repression and reform. In terms of this perspective, it is required that this regime should gradually reform the apartheid system out of existence. To do so, it is considered necessary that the supposed reformers should work their wonders in a situation of stability. Consequently, it is viewed as a *sine qua non* for the abolition of the apartheid system that the forces that are fighting against this system should be kept in check by repressive means.

It therefore seems clear to us that the major Western Powers have not departed from their old positions. According to these, the white minority regime is seen and treated as the defender and guarantor of the perceived interests of these powers. We, on the other hand, are viewed as a threat which must be dealt with in the appropriate manner.

In response to all this, the questions might be posed — what of the fact that the governments of the principal Western Powers have, especially during the last twelve months, entered into direct contact with the ANC? And what of the fact that these governments have repeatedly called on the Pretoria regime to enter into negotiations with everybody concerned, including the ANC?

The Western Powers entered into official contact with the ANC because the argument that they were seeking change by talking exclusively to the Botha regime could no longer be sustained. It had lost credibility. In addition, and as the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group understood and reported, it became clear to the Western governments that the majority of our people within South Africa recognised the ANC as their political representative. Hence it was inevitable that, if they were still interested to project themselves as brokers, honest or otherwise, these governments would have to be seen to be talking to the ANC.

However, the decisions taken in the various capitals to relate to the ANC, did not in any way imply that there had been any change of attitude towards our policies, strategy and tactics. It is also obvious to us that in all the discussions we have held, by and large we have failed to move such major Western Powers as the USA, the United Kingdom, and the Federal Republic of Germany, to view the South African situation from the perspective of the oppressed.

On all major questions pertaining to the issues we are discussing, the coincidence of views between the Pretoria regime and the powers that be in most of the West, persists. Where the racists describe us as a communist front, Western governments go so far as to order secret investigations of the ANC to establish the extent of this alleged communist domination.

Pretoria calls on us to renounce violence. The West calls on us to lay down arms. When the sole aggressor in Southern Africa talks about so-called regional security, the Western Powers condemn 'cross-border violence from all sides'. The white minority regime conducts a vigorous campaign against sanctions and is joined in that campaign by the Western Powers.

We can go on *ad infinitum* and speak even about the questions of formulations and terminology. For example, our armed struggle is never that, but is either terrorism or violence. The limpet mines we use are never simply limpet mines, but are either of Soviet or communist origin. On the other hand, the guns and planes that Pretoria uses with such relish are never of British, American, French, Belgian or West German origin, but are mere guns or planes. The conclusions to draw from all this are obvious to all honest people.

It is true that repeated calls have been made on the Botha regime to enter into negotiations with its opponents. However, nothing is said about how this regime will ultimately be brought to the negotiating table. At the end of the day, the call for negotiations turns out to be nothing more than a pious wish. It is not a desire that is translated into policy, accompanied by the necessary measures to ensure that it succeeds as a policy.

With regard to the possibility for negotiations, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group observed correctly that 'the attitude of the South African government was clearly going to be the single most important determining factor'. At the end of their mission the EPG concluded that:

'It is our considered view that, despite appearances and statements to the contrary, the South African government is not yet ready to negotiate ... (for the establishment of a non-racial and representative government) except on its own terms. Those terms, both in regard to objectives and modalities, fall far short of reasonable black expectations and well-accepted democratic norms and principles.'

Later on in its Report the Group re-emphasised these points in the following manner:

'The (government) is in truth not yet prepared to negotiate fundamental change, nor to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future. Its programme of reform does not end apartheid, but seeks to give it a less inhuman face. Its quest is power-sharing, but without surrendering overall white control.'

Since the attitude of the Pretoria regime is the single most important factor determining the possibility for negotiations, and since that attitude is patently obvious, the test of the genuineness of the call for negotiations must necessarily turn on the willingness of those who make this call to change the attitude of the Pretoria regime towards these negotiations.

It is clear to us, as it was to the EPG and the Commonwealth mini-Summit to which the Group reported, that this cannot be done without pressure. As things stand, the Pretoria regime knows that it can continue to ignore the call for negotiations because the governments of the major Western countries have undertaken, almost as a matter of principle, that they will not act against the racist regime despite its continued failure to respond to the universal demand for an end to the apartheid system and its replacement by a democratic social order.

It was obvious from the very beginning that Sir Geoffrey Howe's mission to South Africa, last year, would not succeed, precisely for the reason that both the British government and the EEC were committed to avoiding any effective sanctions against apartheid South Africa. The experiences of both the EPG and the British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary underline the central point that what both we and the international community must focus our attention on is action to end the apartheid system. Everything we do should be directed towards this end. We consider that any new international initiative seeking to bring about negotiations would be grossly misplaced and out of tune with reality exactly because the Botha regime is not prepared to address this fundamental question.

Nor indeed will it do to put the onus on the ANC to take such initiatives as it might be claimed would enable negotiations to take place; and neither will it do to fish around for such initiatives. If the key to negotiations were in our hands, we would long have used it to open the door. Such measures as have been proposed for us to adopt, namely, the cessation or suspension of our armed struggle or the unilateral proclamation of a moratorium, will do nothing to bring about negotiations. The Pretoria regime is refusing to negotiate not because there is an armed struggle, but because it is unwilling to give up white minority domination. Once again, it is instructive to look at the observations of the Eminent Persons' Group on these issues. The EPG said:

'To ask the ANC or other parties, all of them far weaker than the government, to renounce violence for all time, here and now, would be to put them in a position of having to rely absolutely on the government's intentions and determination to press through the process of negotiations. It was not a question of whether the Group believed in the sincerity of the South African government, but whether the parties would. It was neither possible nor reasonable to have people forswear the only power available to them should the government walk away from the negotiating table. For the government to attribute all violence to the ANC ... was to overlook a situation in which the structures of society, dominated by a relatively small group of people, were founded upon injustice which inevitably led to violence. In addition, in the light of recent events, the government of South Africa would need to give a firm commitment to desist from further aggression against

neighbouring states.'

On the specific question of the suspension of armed struggle, the EPG stated that 'a prior reduction in the level of violence before the government itself takes specific action in regard to the (Group's proposals) would not be feasible ... A suspension of violence or a commitment to non-violence, if in the government's view the meaning is the same, would obviously in the present context require a commitment to suspend the violence arising from the administration of apartheid'.

Further, in one of its letters to the Pretoria regime, the EPG makes the point that 'the Lancaster House negotiations (on Zimbabwe) continued without the suspension of violence as have many others in situations of conflict'. This is a matter of historical fact with which we are all familiar. It makes no sense that we should be treated as an exception to this general practice.

We also need to reiterate the point that the source of violence in South Africa, Namibia and our region is the apartheid system and the racist regime. What must cease is, in the words of the EPG, the violence that arises from the administration of apartheid. For that to happen, the system of white minority domination must be brought to an end. It seems to us strange reasoning that we, the victims of violence, should be asked to respond to the continued terror of the Pretoria regime against the peoples of Southern Africa by committing ourselves to cease our armed resistance, whether temporarily or permanently.

The Pretoria regime has blocked the path to negotiations. The recent whites-only elections in South Africa have confirmed PW Botha in his view that white South Africa stands with him in his determination to resist all change and further to entrench the apartheid system. The government of the Western countries that awaited the results of this illegitimate electoral process now have their answer. The question we would like to ask is what then are they going to do?

Those who have always been opposed to effective sanctions against racist South Africa are already advancing arguments to justify their old positions. These claim that white South Africa has moved further to the right because of the sanctions that have been imposed. If it has not happened already, it will also be argued that the Botha regime has, as a result, become so strong that it will not be amenable to pressure — that all that can be done is to re-affirm the correctness of the policy of so-called constructive engagement.

All of this will, of course, come as music to the ears of the white supremacists in South Africa. Indeed, they will make certain that their friends state and re-state these arguments. We, on the other hand, are convinced that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions would succeed to break up this white power block by the maintenance of the apartheid system to a level that is unacceptable even for the most devoted adherents of this system. It is certainly our task to realise this objective and to achieve the transfer of power to the people through struggle.

We say that apartheid cannot be reformed but has to be abolished in its entirety. Official Western policy towards South Africa will not change until this correct proposition is accepted, until the example set by Canon Collins is adopted as the only legitimate course open to those who say they want to see an end to apartheid.

This places the Western powers in the position in which they have to choose either to work for the total elimination of the apartheid system or, in fact, to connive at its perpetuation, as they do now. We are, however, certain that sooner or later they will come to realise that there has emerged an alternative democratic power within South Africa, an indigenous product of struggle which holds the future of South Africa in its hands.

The West will then have to decide whether it takes the side of this alternative power and the rest of the anti-colonial and anti-racist forces of the continent of Africa made up of nearly five hundred million people, or whether it ties itself to the doomed course followed by far less than five million Africans of European origin. It is no longer possible to run with the hares and hunt with the hounds.

The alternative power in our country is as real today as it is impossible to vanquish in the future. It is here to stay and will grow in strength despite all efforts to suppress it, until South Africa is liberated and peace returns to Southern Africa. As a consequence of this development, it is becoming impossible to avoid confronting the question of the legitimacy of the powers which are contending with each other within our country. These two cannot co-exist, as fascism and democracy could not, but have to give way one to the other.

Not even the best of conjurers can maintain an equidistant position between them. The times demand that you who are gathered in this hall should progress from opposition to apartheid to identification with and support for the democratic movement for national liberation in Namibia and South Africa. This evolution can no longer be avoided.

The broad perspectives of our country's democratic power are spelt out in the Freedom Charter. Organisationally, it is represented by many formations which recognise the leading role of the ANC in the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Whether or not they support or engage in armed struggle, they are at one with us in seeking this outcome and are active in the struggle for its realisation.

I should state here that when we say we are fighting for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, we mean what we say. It is very clear to us that unless our country becomes such an entity, we shall know no peace. To propose any so-called solutions which fall within the parameters of the apartheid system is no more than to prepare a recipe for a continuation of the conflict which has already claimed too many lives.

It is to ask for the continued murder and imprisonment of children, which has become a permanent feature of Pretoria's policy of repression. It is to prepare for the extension of the policy of the deliberate impoverishment of the masses of the black people, the forced removal and banishment of millions, the break-up of families and everything else that you know about the apartheid system.

As long as this system exists, whatever guise it assumes, so long will the Front Line and neighbouring states be victims of aggression and destabilisation. For all this to end, for these crimes to become a thing of the past, South Africa must become a democratic country, with guaranteed liberties for all citizens, with equal rights for everybody regardless of colour, race or sex.

Given the changing balance of strength in our country and the shift of the strategic initiative into our hands, there is a sense in which the apartheid forces are becoming the opposition to the ascendant democratic movement rather than the other way round. The recent white elections demonstrate this point inasmuch as the Botha regime contested them on the specific platform of opposition to the ANC. Subsequent to its victory, this regime has not changed its tune but has continued with its threats to act vigorously against the democratic movement and has actually carried out these threats as well as murdered a young Zimbabwean woman who was married to the Administrative Secretary in our Office in Harare.

In the recent period intense debates have arisen about the academic and cultural boycotts. In a critical sense these debates arise from the successes of our all-round struggle and reflect attempts to get to grips with new dimensions that the emergence of the alternative democratic power entails.

The boycott campaigns from their inception in the late Fifties, were aimed at the total isolation of apartheid South Africa. This objective is inviolate and needs to be pursued with even greater vigour.

At the same time we must take into account the changes that have taken place over time. In particular, as in almost every other field of human endeavour in South Africa, there has emerged a definable alternative democratic culture — the people's culture permeated with and giving expression to the deepest aspirations of our people in struggle, immersed in democratic and enduring human values.

This is a development, however, that is taking place within the context of the emergent alternative democratic power whose duty it is to draw on the academic and cultural resources and heritage of the world community to advance the democratic perspective in our country. For it is only with the realisation of a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa that such a people's culture shall be able to flourish in full glory.

To a lesser or greater degree, there has always been a tradition of progressive culture which has struggled for survival and growth against colonial domination and commercialisation. The change that has occurred is that this people's culture, despite the extreme hostility of the racist state, has grown into a mighty stream, distinct from and in opposition to the warped and moribund culture of racism. Its foremost exponents are today part of the democratic movement. The core of the cultural workers engaged in creating this people's culture are simultaneously engaged in developing our own institutions and structures which are aligned to mass democratic organisations in our country.

As in politics, trade unionism, education, sport, religion and many other fields, these developments at the cultural level both contributed to and are part of the emergent alternative democratic power at whose head stands the ANC.

Without doubt the developing and vibrant culture of our people in struggle and its structures need to be supported, strengthened and enhanced. In the same way as apartheid South Africa is being increasingly isolated internationally, within South Africa this people's culture is steadily isolating the intellectual and cultural apologists of apartheid.

Indeed, the moment is upon us when we shall have to deal with the alternative structures that our people have created and are creating through struggle and sacrifice, as the genuine representatives of these masses in all fields of human activity. Not only should these not be boycotted, but more, they should be supported, encouraged and treated as the democratic counterparts within South Africa of similar institutions and organisations internationally. This means that the ANC, the broad democratic movement in its various formations within South Africa, and the international solidarity movement need to act together.

On these questions John Collins entertained no doubts whatsoever. Having taken positions against racism, discrimination, oppression and war, he accepted that to bring these to an end he must march side by side with those of like mind, against the racists, the oppressors and the war-mongers. His example is eminently worthy of emulation.

Everywhere in our country, and after a year of national state of emergency, the democratic forces are at work to expand and strengthen their ranks and to raise the level and intensity of the offensive against the apartheid regime to new heights. For its part, this regime prepares itself for more atrocities, for the campaign of repression of which PW Botha boasts — as though to shoot and kill children, to imprison and torture them and their parents, to carry out one outrage after another against independent Africa, were the worthiest activities that one could ever imagine.

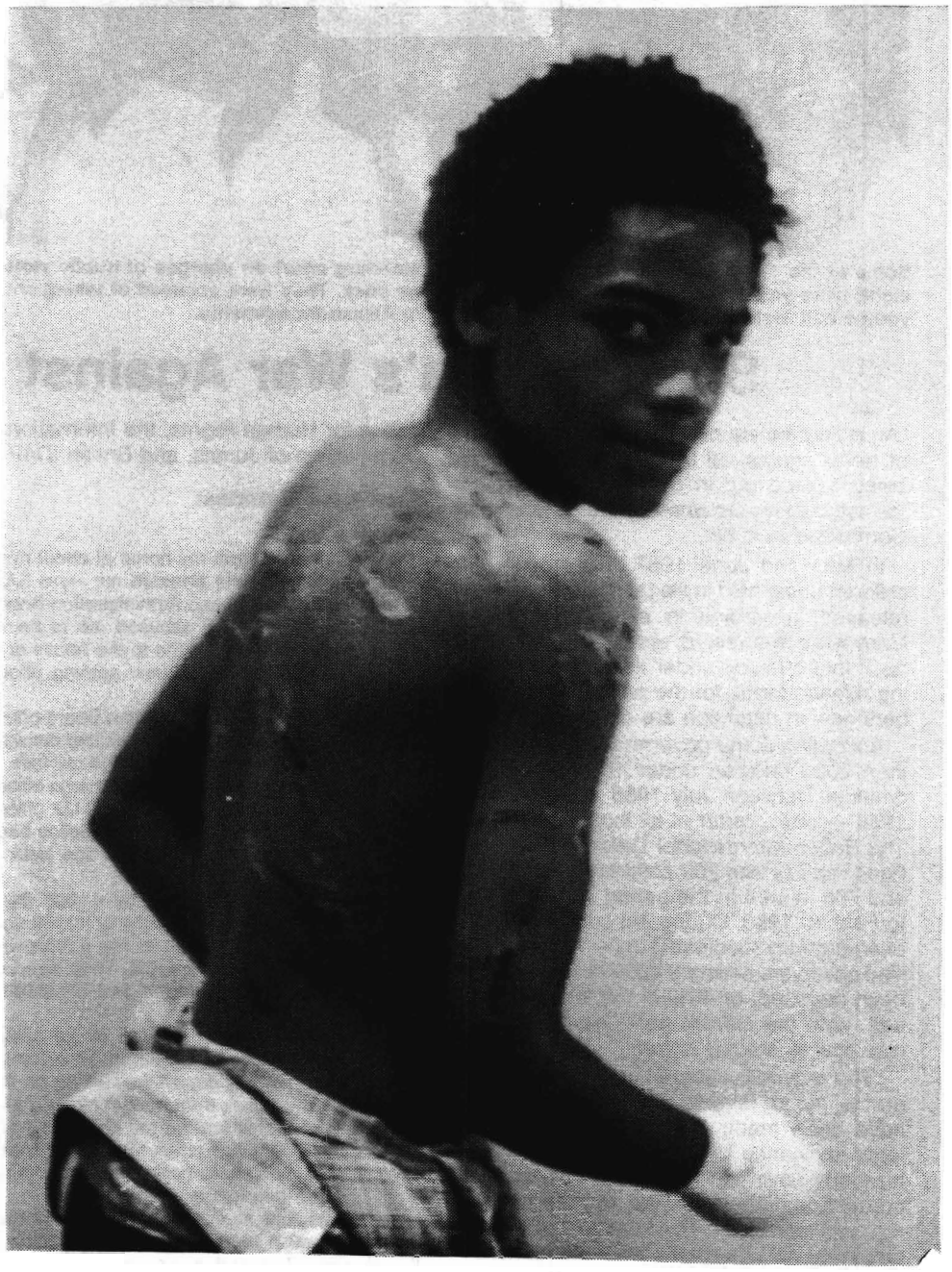
A terrible collision between ourselves and our opponents is inevitable. Many battles will be fought and many lives will be lost throughout our region. In preparation for this, the Pretoria regime has identified the defeat of the democratic movement as the centrepiece of state policy. Yet the outcome is not in doubt. Having reached the crossroads, the masses of our people have decided that our country must advance as rapidly as possible to the situation where they, black and white, will govern themselves together as equals. Whatever the cost, there is no doubt that we will win.

We cannot but regret that such titans of our struggle as John Collins will not be with us to celebrate the birth of democracy in our country. In a fortnight you, who are his compatriots, will be casting your votes to choose representatives to your parliament. How terrible it is that in the Southern tip of Africa millions have to go through the furnace of violent struggle to win for themselves a right which you take for granted!

What a tragedy that many more will have to die simply because this, a democratic country, refused to heed Canon Collins's plea for his motherland to side with the oppressed and to declare war on the tyrants! What a tragedy that those who exercise power have become so bereft of vision that they have learnt to treat as no more than a slogan, the objective of the expansion of the frontiers of democracy to the black oppressed of Namibia and South Africa!

When freedom comes, what will they say then?
What will they do then?
Will they finally claim Canon Collins as one of their own?

Thank you.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!